

CONSTRUCTING SACRED SPACE: ESTABLISHING RITUAL SPACE
FOR THE INITIATION OR PROMOTION OF A SHAMAN

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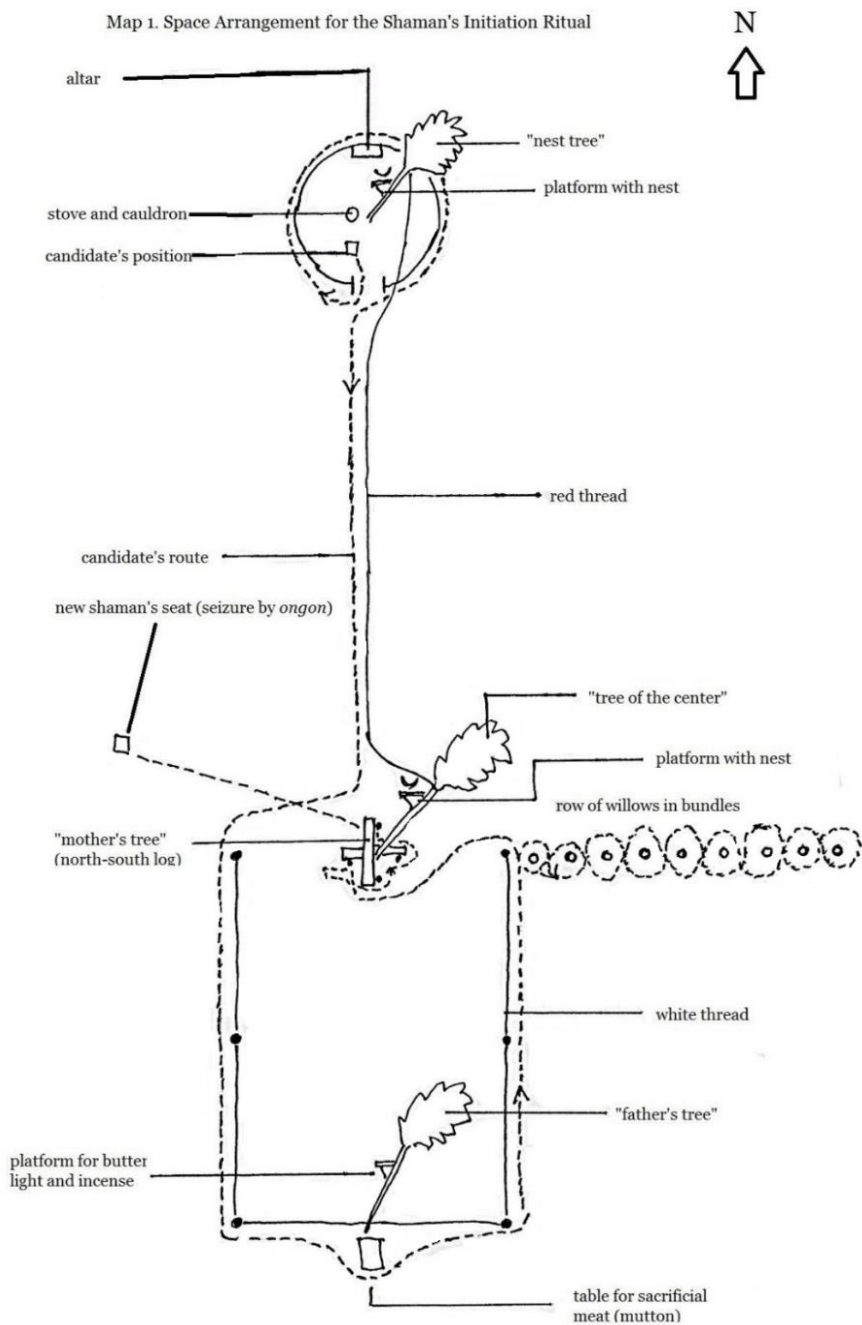
ABSTRACT

Two rituals performed by Mongol shamans of Inner Mongolia, China, in 2003 and 2010 are described. One is an initiation ritual that formally brings a female shaman candidate into contact with her guiding spirit. The ritual makes much use of birth symbolism. The second is a ritual in which an established shaman is promoted to a higher rank that brings increased power. In both rituals, birch trees play a vital role as links between the worlds of spirits and humans. The construction of sacred ritual space makes the interaction between spirit beings and humans visible and at the same time, productive.

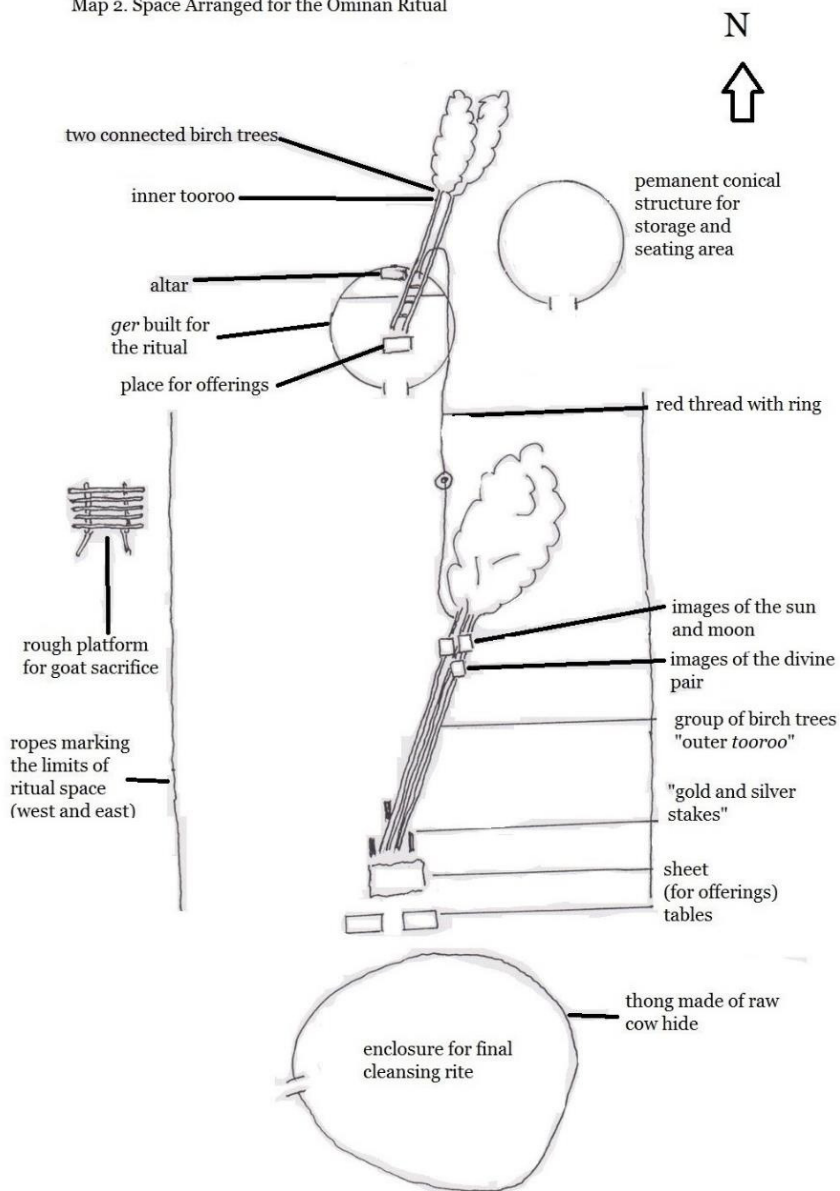
KEYWORDS

birth symbolism, exclusion from sacred space, functions of trees, Mongol shaman (China), ritual space types, shamanic initiation, shaman promotion

Map 1. Space Arrangement for the Shaman's Initiation Ritual



Map 2. Space Arranged for the Ominan Ritual



INTRODUCTION

This paper describes how a location is established and used for the performance of rituals that are decisive for a shaman's career. The location for ritual use is not a permanent installation. Instead, it is situated within or near people's everyday environment. Nevertheless, it serves as the place where the rituals are performed. The location is temporarily marked off from the rest of the everyday environment. During the rituals, this special area serves as the chosen point where spirits and humans (especially the shamans) can encounter one another. Although I will touch on aspects of the rituals, my focus is on the environment for these rituals, specifically two kinds of rituals, both of which are highly significant in a shaman's career.

One is the initiation ritual that proves the candidate has been chosen by a spirit as a legitimate shaman. The other is a promotion ritual for an established, experienced shaman. In this case, the shaman achieves a new and higher rank. While these two rituals clearly differ, as does the arrangement of the space where they take place, there are certain material items that play an important, similar role in both. Both make use of a new *ger* 'tent of Mongol nomads', a number of birch trees put up at significant locations, and threads and ropes that serve as links between birch trees and *ger*, or as border markers.

Both rituals were performed in what is today Hulunbuir City in northeastern Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (China). The circumstances of shaman activities in the area are quite different from those in Mongolia, on the other side of the border. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) resulted in a drastic break with shamanic tradition in the area and its aftermath does not allow unrestricted shamanic activity. Although since the end of the 1990s, shamans keep gradually appearing, the phenomenon is far from the "proliferation of shamans" described by Ippei Shimamura in his recent publication on shamans in Mongolia (2014:19). In the area discussed in this paper, the number of active shamans is increasing, but they are aware of the political administration's watchful eye on their activities.¹

¹ I thank an anonymous reviewer for calling my attention to *Sámánok. határok nélkül* [*Shamans Without Borders*] (<https://goo.gl/fLzcPL>).

BURIAT INITIATION RITUAL

I begin with a description of the special arrangements surrounding the initiation ritual for a young Buriat woman. The ritual was performed at her home in 2003 by her teacher, an Ögeled Mongol woman, whom I shall call "Shaman H" (Knecht 2012:83-89). Shaman H was supported in conducting the ritual by her first disciple, an Evenki man, who had been initiated as a shaman the year before. Neither of these two ritual leaders were Buriat. To conduct an appropriate ritual for the Buriat candidate, Shaman H had gathered relevant information from a Buriat source. Using this information, she drew a sketch showing how the ritual space should be organized. A young man, acting as her assistant, held this sketch as a guide, while supervising the preparations for the ritual to ensure everything was done correctly.

The space designated to be used for the ritual was situated in the large open courtyard extending from the house of the candidate's parents to the northern border of the property (MAP 1). A small adobe house was built in the northwestern corner of this area. It served as the provisional abode for the candidate's *ongod* (pl, ancestral or guiding spirits of the shaman). For the purpose of the ritual, a new Mongol *ger* was put up just a bit east of this house and close to the area's northern border. Inside this *ger*, a table was placed against the northern wall to serve later as an altar for the *ongod* to be enshrined. A stove was installed in the *ger*'s center and next to it a strong birch tree was thrust into the ground. The lower branches of this tree had been cut off leaving only those on the top, which protruded through the smoke hole, the wheel-like opening in the *ger*'s roof.

On an imagined straight line beginning at the *ger*'s altar and continuing through the *ger*'s entrance on the south side into the open space, two more birch trees were put up. They, too, had only their leafy crowns left. Before these tall trees were erected, the bystanders were invited to bind colored ribbons to the branches. The tree erected closer to the *ger* was about ten steps away from it. It was called "Tree of the Center." At the southern end of the imagined center line, about nine steps away from the "Tree of the Center," a third large birch tree was erected - the "Father's Tree." A red cotton thread linked these two trees with one another and further, with the tree in the *ger*. This latter tree

was called "Nest Tree,"¹ because a small platform attached to its trunk held a small nest that contained several eggs made of dough and sheep hair (FIG 1). Another nest of the same kind was placed on a similar platform attached to the "Tree of the Center." Although such a platform was also attached to the south side of the stem of the "Father's Tree," it did not feature a nest. Instead, it featured a burning butter light and incense. Under this last platform, a table was set up for later use when the cooked meat of one of the sheep sacrificed during the ritual was arranged on it.

At the foot of the "Tree of the Center," two birch logs were arranged in a horizontal position parallel to the ground to form a cross whose beams pointed in the four cardinal directions. Bound to short stakes hammered into the ground, the two logs were fixed at about fifty centimeters above ground. The log positioned in the north-south direction on the imagined central line was called the "Mother's Tree" (FIG 2).

The space between the "Tree of the Center" and the "Father's Tree" was left unmarked and open on its north side - the side facing the *ger*. In contrast, this space's eastern, western, and southern borders were clearly marked. The eastern and western borders were each defined by a line of three poles about two meters high. The poles were made from young birch trees whose tops had been capped. They were aligned in two parallel rows, one on the east, and the other on the west side of the central space left open. The poles were linked with one another and with the "Father's Tree" on the south side by a white thread creating a clearly-defined area that left only the northern side open. This arrangement created a space demarcated from the rest of the compound surrounding the house, while orienting the enclosed space towards the new *ger* by leaving the remaining side open towards the north. In fact, as soon as the white thread had been bound to these poles and the "Father's Tree," an announcement was made warning bystanders who might carry a sharp tool such as a knife or suffer from

¹ "Nest tree" = Buryat *üüre modo*, Halha *üür mod*, Written Mongolian *egüre modun*. (I thank Mátyás Balogh for this and other comments on the Non-English terms in this paper.)

some kind of impurity, such as a death or birth in the family, not to enter this space.

The seriousness of this warning was almost immediately underlined by the appearance of a young shaman who had no function in the forthcoming ritual. Clearly quite intoxicated, he suddenly stumbled into that demarcated area. Immediately some men rushed forth to grab and lead him to a safe place well beyond the ritual area.

The "Tree of the Center" was distinguished by nondescript, small pieces of fur from an otter and a sable. The pieces were fastened to the trunk of the tree just under the small platform holding a nest. I was told that this was done to ward off any evil influences that might be threatening the area.

The three large birch trees standing on the imagined central axis that reached from the "Nest Tree" in the *ger* to the "Father's Tree" at the southern end of the cordoned off section seemed to represent something similar to the spine of a body, namely the main area where the ritual was to be performed.

There was another group of trees of a different kind planted outside of the marked space described above. It was a group of nine bundles of willow twigs whose leaves had been removed (FIG 3). These bundles were set up without roots in a straight line stretching to the east at a right angle to the demarcated area's central line and east of the northernmost pole of the central area. Enough room was left between bundles to allow a person to pass. The nine bundles were described as representing nine divine children - helpers in the shaman's rituals.

By the time this new *ger*, the arrangement of three high birch trees together with a row of bundles made of willow twigs, of a red thread connecting the high trees outside with one another and with the one in the *ger*, and of a white thread cordoning off a special central space from the rest of the area had been completed, the area was ready for the ritual to begin. A brief look at the ritual's main features will now help explain what these preparations mean.

The main ritual began in the new *ger* when the leader, Shaman H, first invited the *ongon*. She then purified the candidate who was standing by the *ger's* central tree, by dowsing her profusely with hot water taken from a cauldron on the *ger's* stove. Then the shaman

cleansed and blessed the candidate's new coat that was hanging on a scaffold next to her, in the same way. During the dowsing, the candidate looked to me as if she were on the brink of falling unconscious, but after the purification ritual, she hastily put on her coat and immediately ran out of the *ger*. Once outside, she turned to the right to circle the *ger* one time before running directly under the red thread until she came before the "Tree of the Center." There, she turned to the right and ran all along the outside of the area marked by the white thread. On reaching the right-side end of that circle, she turned to the nine bundles of willow twigs outside of, but close to the main area. She kept running while she crisscrossed the line in two directions, first running toward its far end and then back to its beginning. From there she continued until she reached the crossed logs at the foot of the "Tree of the Center," where she climbed onto the southern half of the log ("Mother's Tree") and took a few steps. Next, she turned to the log placed in an east-west direction, where she first did a few steps on its western section and then on the eastern one. From there she returned to the section of the "Mother's Tree" that pointed to the north. Standing on this log she paused for a few moments before she jumped to the ground (FIG 4). As soon as she was back on the ground she was immediately seized by her *ongon* and fell flat. Her assistant rushed to pick her up and sat her on a chair that has been prepared nearby. At that moment, her *ongon* began to speak and to address those who had earlier asked for a pronouncement.

In this ritual, the candidate did not climb any of the standing trees, but it is noteworthy that after having run the whole course circling the marked area, she paused and stood, although only for a short moment, on the "Mother's Tree," where she met her *ongon*. By standing on that spot she came to stand directly under the red thread that connected the "Mother's Tree" on the outside with the "Nest Tree" inside the *ger* where her journey had begun. The red thread is said to be the road for the *ongon* to travel on. She had begun running at the "Nest Tree" in the *ger* and ended it at the "Mother's Tree" at the foot of the "Tree of the Center" that held another nest. Before she arrived there, she had passed the "Father's Tree" at the south end of the imagined central line and of the marked-off area. It seemed that the candidate had to run a set course that brought her in contact with the

male and female principles represented, respectively, by the "Father's Tree" and the two trees with a nest, but that the decisive moment came when the candidate mounted the "Mother's Tree" log because that is the moment the candidate met her *ongon*. It is, therefore, the moment a new shaman is 'born', in the midst of the marked off area as if this were a "body," after having met the male and female principles that prepared the way for the candidate to meet with her *ongon*. Throughout the candidate's course, the crowd followed her action with intense attention. Once realizing that her course had come to a successful end, the people showed relief and became visibly happy at this birth of a new shaman (FIG 5).

DAUR *OMINAN*

Now I turn to the construction of space for another type of ritual. Some central features in this construction, such as a new *ger*, sets of large birch trees, and a demarcated ritual space between them, are similar to the ones I have just described, but they appear in more elaborate circumstances. This ritual is not held for a candidate to become a shaman by experiencing the first formal seizure by an *ongon*. It is a ritual ideally held in intervals of about three years (Humphrey 1996:237) for a well-established shaman who can look back on a successful career and who enjoys the support of economically privileged believers. I will call the shaman for whom the ritual was performed "Shaman S." A Daur, she enjoys much respect from that group. She ordinarily lives with her husband, a Barga Mongol, in the Evenki Autonomous Banner, close to Hailar. The ritual she invited me to witness took place over four days from 11 to 14 August 2010. According to Caroline Humphrey, this kind of ritual, is known in Daur as *ominan*, "the great clan renewal ceremony" (1996:125). Shaman S explained that it was "her group" who provided more than ten sheep and a young cow for the ritual's sacrifices. She did not tell me in detail who the members of "her group" were, but insisted instead that holding this rite would allow her to achieve a higher rank of shaman. Her promotion was then achieved on the last day as the climax of the four days of celebrations.

The *ominan* for Shaman S was celebrated on a large flat bank by the Yimin River. There were already several permanent buildings in the area ordinarily used as tourist lodgings. One new *ger* for use at the ritual had been erected next to these. However, on the occasion of the *ominan*, the permanent buildings were rented for the exclusive use of the shaman's closest guests, in particular those of "her group" who, on the fourth and last day of the celebrations, enjoyed the privilege of being addressed by the *ongon* for an exceptionally long time. The ritual's place was located several hundred meters off the highway and hidden from direct inspection behind large bushes so that neither the buildings nor the new *ger* could be noticed by somebody passing by on the highway. This was probably a significant consideration when the shaman chose this quiet place as the main location for the performance of her *ominan* rituals. When Shaman S invited me to the celebrations she requested that I not bring any person she did not know. This initially caused a small inconvenience, because I could not stay overnight at the site. I needed to commute every day by taxi from my city hotel to the rituals' location. Fortunately, she acknowledged the difficulty and allowed the driver to come into the compound under the condition that the driver would remain in the compound during the day, leaving only in the evening to drive me back to the hotel. I took this to be a sign that the shaman intended to keep the ritual out of public attention, but then I was utterly astonished to notice that a TV crew was recording the whole ritual and that on the last day a large crowd of onlookers and researchers had gathered for the celebration's climax.

There were two different locations related to the rituals of Shaman S. One was an inconspicuous cairn of stones raised on the slight slope of a small hill in the grassland some distance from the main ritual's location and separated from it by the highway (FIG 6). It served as a memorial for the shaman ancestor of Shaman S and as a marker of his *shendan* 'burial place'. When I was allowed to accompany Shaman S to a ritual and we happened to pass the area on the highway, she would get out of the car for a few moments to sprinkle some liquor in the direction of the memorial before continuing the trip. But this time she brought us, namely a few students and myself, to the stone memorial for a formal visit, to pour some liquor and to offer incense.

This happened on the *ominan*'s first day, the day before the main part of the great ritual was scheduled to begin. It was evident that the inconspicuous small ritual was important to her, but during the main ritual, celebrated over the next three days, the memorial did not receive further attention. After this short visit, we dropped in briefly at the ritual's main location to check on the preparations. No further activity seemed to have taken place on that first day.

Although Shaman S was the shaman scheduled to be promoted on the last day of celebrations, she was not directing the rituals. This task was entrusted to an invited leader and her assistant, both of whom were female Daur shamans. They had been expressly invited from Morin Dawa Daur Autonomous Banner to conduct the *ominan* on behalf of Shaman S.

A cursory glance at the site where the rituals were to be performed revealed a basic north-south orientation similar to what has just been described for the initiation ritual (MAP 2). Here, however, two structures were located at the northern border of the ritual area. Although one stood next to the other, they were not identical. One was a new *ger* put up for use at the *ominan*. The other was a permanent structure in the form of a conical tent. The latter showed no particular decoration and did not stand on the chosen area's imagined central line. Instead, it stood slightly removed towards the main *ger*'s backside. It stored supplies, tools to be used for the rituals, clothing for the shamans to change into, and luggage.

Meanwhile, the *ger* was not only placed at the northern head of an imaginary central line, but it also featured certain eye-catching decorations inside and outside. For example, the leafy tops of two large birch trees protruded through the roof opening of the *ger* were readily noticeable from afar. Different from a family's ordinary *ger*, it had no stove in its center. Instead, the two solid trunks of the birch trees stood firmly on the ground where a stove would usually be. Three horizontally attached sticks connected the two trunks creating the shape of a ladder.

The two trees are called the "inner *tooroo*" 'inner ritual trees'. Behind the two tree trunks against the northern lattice wall, an altar was put up where various images and figures of *ongod* were installed.

On the first day of the rituals, curious visitors were allowed to pass freely through the space left between the two central birch tree pillars and the altar to view the decorations and images, but on the last day, Shaman S got very angry when people passed through there. She said that this was not a place for ordinary people. Her reason for saying this became clear later on that last day, when the shamans and their assistants gathered before the *ongod* and Shaman S performed the decisive dance that highlighted the climax of the four-day celebrations. It was a short dance around the two trees, but it was distinguished by her donning the frightening copper mask of Abagaldai, the powerful, fearsome bear spirit. In that moment, she was under the influence of her *ongon* and asked in a brief dialogue with the assisting shamans whether she was worthy to ascend to a higher rank. It was not a question of a shaman's birth but of a promotion, which was understood as the work of the candidate's *ongon*.

The assembled shamans' response was a brief, yet strong sense of rejoicing. Since the rituals had begun she had repeatedly demonstrated in numerous sessions that she was at her *ongon's* disposition and prepared to have the *ongon* speak through her to the believers.

Outside at the southern border of the ritual space a sizeable bunch of nine strong birch trees with their top branches left had been put in place as a group - the "outer *tooroo*." Sa Minna reports that the number of these trees is the same as the number of the leading shaman's generation in her shamanic descent line (Sa 2011:6). At the foot of these trees three short stakes called "golden and silver stakes" are driven into the ground, said to be supporting the trees (FIG 7). On the southern side of this bunch of trees, i.e., on the side farther from the *ger*, drawings of the sun and moon were each hung together with the image of a pair of divine spirits (FIG 8). A red thread linked this "outer *tooroo*" with the "inner *tooroo*" after having passed through the *ger's* roof opening. Outside the thread was decorated with ribbons of different colors and fitted with a movable metal ring.

While the thread itself was described as the road for the *ongod*, the movable ring was explained as serving as a means for an *ongon* to send a message to a shaman. At the foot of the "outer *tooroo*," and again on the side farther from the ritual *ger*, a sheet was first laid out

where people could place their offerings, if they did not prefer to put them at the foot of the "inner *tooroo*." As the rituals proceeded, more and more offerings were brought forth so that tables were installed to hold these as well as the cooked meat of the sacrificed sheep.

The ritual area, where practically all the sessions conducted by various shamans taking part in the celebrations took place, was surrounded by a rope to cordon it off from the wider surroundings that had no ritual significance. It was the area extending between the two kinds of *tooroo* and overarched by the red thread. This area was thus the space where the *ongod* became visibly active in the actions of their servants, the shamans, and for the benefit of the believers.

However, there was also a dark and negative side lurking behind the bright side of the rituals and the security provided by the sacred space. In the afternoon of the second day of the main rituals when the climax gradually neared, an incident of a different nature occurred. During a session, when everybody was intensely watching the movements and listening to the words of the shaman, a woman in the crowd unexpectedly began to tremble violently before suddenly falling to the ground. She rolled around for a few moments until a bystander picked her up and put her on a chair.

One of Shaman S's assistants came and calmed her. The woman's trembling, falling to the ground, and rolling resembled the action of a shaman at the beginning of a session, before the *ongon* began talking. The difference was that the *ongon* who was said to have seized the woman could not speak through her. The reason for this was explained as being because the woman's mother had placed a curse on her daughter, forbidding her from becoming a shaman despite multiple indications that an *ongon* wanted her to become a shaman.

In terms of ritual space, the woman's case is of interest, because her misfortune happened outside of the sacred area reserved for the activities of the *ongod* through their shamans. In other words, the incident indicates that a "tamed seizure" by an *ongon* needs the goodwill of a welcoming person, a shaman, but also a receptive environment, namely an appropriate ritual space.

In another instance of a different character, dark forces and their ability to endanger the smooth procedure of the *ominan*'s rituals made the theme of a ritual action strikingly different from all the other

rituals of the celebrations. In this case, it was not an instantaneous happening, but a planned ritual. It differed strikingly from the other rituals in terms of the time and place of its performance, as well as in the kind of sacrificial victim and the treatment given to the victim's remains.

In principle all activities, primarily the shaman sessions where an *ongon* addressed the ritual's sponsors or others who had asked for a pronouncement, took place in full view of the onlookers during the daytime and clearly within the demarcated ritual space (FIG 9). Only on one occasion was the routine broken. It was in the second day of celebrations in the late afternoon. A roughly assembled platform had been installed just outside of the western side of the ritual area (FIG 10). As sunset approached, the shamans assembled as a group close to the platform. They first sang and beat their drums while facing west, a direction avoided in most of the other rituals. This was in preparation for the offering of a black goat. Ordinarily a black animal was considered unsuitable as a sacrifice at a shaman's ritual (black being an inauspicious color, the color of evil beings). However, in the course of the shamans' actions that evening, a black goat was led out into the cordoned-off main ritual area and brought before Shaman S, who tossed a fistful of rice over it. The animal was then swiftly led away to be slaughtered in an only dimly lightened shack out of general sight and away from the ritual area.

The goat's hide was first fixed to willow sticks before it was put on the rough platform together with the goat's intestines and its cooked meat. When everything was ready, the shamans, led by Shaman S, gathered again at the platform to sing and beat their drums until a few young helpers suddenly rushed to the platform, picked up the goat's hide and intestines in a hurry and ran with them into the dark towards the west, where they threw everything away. Nobody was permitted to follow them to find out where they had thrown the goat's remains.

The black goat might be interpreted as a scapegoat (Delaplace et al. 2014:623), but Shaman S seemed to understand it differently, namely as an offering. She explained that the goat's remains were to satisfy the desire of threatening spirits so that they would not invade

the ritual area and cause disturbances on the following day, the climax of the festivities.

That evening, I was under the impression that the entire goat, meat included, had been thrown away, although I was unsure, because I could not observe some of what was happening. When I later asked Shaman S, she said that the meat in fact had been eaten, but that it had to be eaten outside of the dining hall away from where people usually took their meals. Furthermore, what might be left over had to be thrown away and buried. It could not be taken into a dwelling (see Sa 2011:43-44; for a contrary statement see Somfai Kara et al. 2009:153).

On the last day, all celebrations ended with the participants dancing merrily around the group of trees on the *ger*'s southern side, just outside the ritual space that had seen the shamans' rituals and sessions throughout the festivities. Before people disbanded, the shamans created something like an instant sacred space. They had participants and onlookers gather south of the "outer *tooroo*" and then encircled the whole group with a long thong made of cow-hide. From there, people could leave only through two narrow gates, where Shaman S and the visiting leading shaman dowsed them in an atmosphere of general hilarity with a mixture of warm water, milk, and herbs that was said to be good for their health.

This long series of rituals shows different ways to construct and use ritual space. In the case of the memorial to the shaman's ancestor, there can be a permanent, yet inconspicuous ritual place where the sacredness of space need not be created anew. Space used for the bulk of rituals, however, is constructed as sacred space for the occasion, marked by trees that function as roads of access for the *ongon*. This is identical to the function of the trees in the organization of space for the initiation mentioned in the first example.

Here, however, the trees do not exhibit birth symbolism. There is no nest and no "Father's Tree" or "Mother's Tree." In addition, the separate space created for the black goat's sacrifice and offering underlines belief in the existence of forces threatening the rituals that must be prevented from intruding into the main ritual area. The sacrifice also signifies efforts for the good of the participants through consumption of the goat's meat. A similar positive effect can be achieved by being dowsed by the shamans with a liquid said to be

beneficial for one's health. However, for this to happen, an extra space outside of the ritual space used up to that moment, is constructed on the spot.

SPACE: REPRESENTING THE COSMOS

These two types of rituals lend resonance to Humphrey's (1995) observation that Mongol shamanic practice opens a "vision of the cosmos" (135) where "practices are designed to have results" (149). This cosmos is not an image of a world structured in layers; it is a world where humans interact to their benefit with the invisible powers or beings of mother earth and father sky. This aspect finds a particularly strong expression in the initiation ritual for a new shaman. It is also present in a form easily overlooked, in the representations of sun and moon at the outer *tooroo* in the *ominan*. Sacred space is thus constructed in a way that makes this interaction visible as an interaction within sacred space.

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PHOTOGRAPHS

FIG 1. From left to right: "Father's Tree," "Tree of the Center," and "Nest Tree" protruding through the new *ger*'s roof (Knecht 2003).



FIG 2. The central structure: "Tree of the Center" with its nest. The log extending toward the right (north) is called "Mother's Tree." The tree at the left margin is the "Father's Tree" with an attached platform for offerings (Knecht 2003).



FIG 3. View of the ritual area looking south. To the left of the "Tree of the Center" and its structure of logs some of the bundles of willow twigs can be noticed (Knecht 2003).



FIG 4. The moment the candidate is about to step on the log called "Mother's Tree" (Knecht 2003).



FIG 5. In front of the "Tree of the Center" after the successful completion of the ritual. Shaman H (left) with the newly initiated Shaman D in her full robes (Knecht 2003).



FIG 6. Shaman S at the *shendan* 'cairn' of her ancestor spirit (Knecht 2010).



FIG 7. The "gold and silver stakes" at the foot of the "outer *tooroo*" (Knecht 2010).



FIG 8. Images of the sun and moon (center) and of divine spirits (left) on the "outer *tooroo*." In the back, the Evenki-type main *ger* for the rituals, with "inner *tooroo*" (Knecht 2010).



FIG 9. Shaman S in front of main *ger* (Knecht 2010).



FIG 10. Ritual area looking south. To the right, outside of it, the platform for the goat sacrifice (Knecht 2010).



NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Buriat (Buryat, Buryaad, Buriad)

Daur (Dawo'er 达斡尔, Dahur)

Evenki (Ewenke 鄂温克, Ewenki, Evenkil)

Hailar, Haila'er 海拉尔

Hulunbuir, Hulunbei'er 呼伦贝尔

nest tree (Buryat *üüre modo*, Halha: *üür mod*, Written Mongolian *egüre modun*)

Ögeled (Öölöd)

ominan (ominaan)

ongod

ongon

shendan

tooroo

Yimin 伊敏